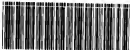
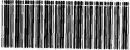








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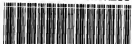

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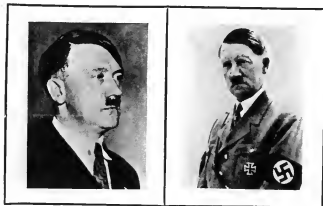
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1941

POLICE DEPARTMENT
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

CLASSIFICATION

X-0797-#1

WANTED FOR MURDER



ADOLF SCHICKLGRUBER
Alias Hitler

Wanted for MURDER; ARSON; GRAND
LARCENY; POSSESSION OF FIRE-
ARMS; PIRACY; TREACHERY; RELI-
GIOUS PERSECUTION.

SHOOT ON SIGHT!

REWARD!

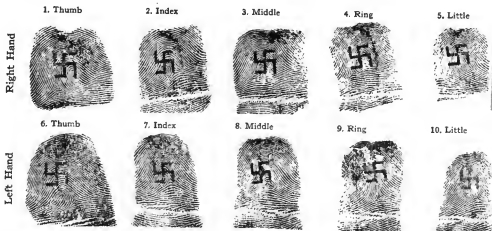
This man is dangerous, will attack without warning; he is always surrounded by armed thugs and expert gunmen.

If captured, dead or alive, the reward will be freedom for the entire world and peace for all nations.

DESCRIPTION—Age, 52 in 1941; height, five feet, seven inches; weight, 150-165; hair, black, shaggy locks hang over forehead; eyes, black, have demented gaze; complexion, sallow; football mustache, eleven hairs on each side; foppish dresser, but has marked devotion to brown shirts and an old trench-coat.

PARTICULARS—This man has tendency to become hysterical on slight provocation, has been known to throw himself on floor and gnaw rugs; guttural voice apt to rise to shrill tones when excited or thwarted. He has delusions, particularly about his place in history and his powers over vast numbers of people. He is sadistic, malicious, bombastic, vengeful, mystical, maniacal, addicted to public hysteria on "race purity;" suffers from dreams of persecution. He is a congenital liar. He has worked at only one known trade — house painting.

RECORD—He has served one term in prison, and has a police record of inciting to riot in various cities.



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3

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM COMMITTEE

Room 309

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R. K. O. BUILDING

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Telephone: Circle 6-4250

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Executive Secretary

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE

Vice Chairman

ENDORSEMENT OF FIGHT FOR FREEDOM PRINCIPLES

The undersigned members of the Fight for Freedom Committee recognize that the surest and swiftest road to peace is immediate entry of the United States in the war on Hitler. By this we mean, specifically, unceasing, all-out use of American naval and air forces to sweep the oceans clear of Axis raiders and U-boats; the seizure now of all additional islands and other strategic points essential to our defense, which includes the successful convoy of our war materials to Britain; whatever military measures are necessary in order to hold these bases; the immediate repeal of our suicidal Neutrality Law, in order to reestablish freedom of the seas; and all other militant, aggressive measures that common-sense, self-defense and decency may demand. We recognize that, at a time when Hitler is preoccupied in eastern Europe, this is the moment to strike with the weapons we already have.

I AM AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Signature

Address

Please Print Name

This image shows a full page of primary-ruled notebook paper. It features ten horizontal rows, each defined by two parallel dashed lines. Vertical solid lines are positioned on either side of the central writing area, creating margins. The paper is otherwise blank, with no handwriting or other markings.

Mr. Congressman:—

X-D 732

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4

DON'T HAMSTRING AMERICA

This country was shocked on Independence Day to learn from Chief of Staff Marshall that the limitations imposed by Congress have "hamstrung" the development of the army as an effective defence force.

In the midst of observations of a day commemorating our birthright of freedom, so precious now in a world half enslaved, Americans were warned by General Marshall that these limitations should be immediately removed.

General Marshall said that Congress should move quickly to enable the army to retain selectees and national guardsmen in service for whatever period required and to provide for "whatever defensive measures may be necessary" by the armed forces of the United States for the "security of the American people."

Our Chief of Staff asks that this be done only in order that we have a "fair opportunity" — mark those words — "to protect ourselves against the coldly calculated, secret and sudden action that might be directed against us."

~~And they now want~~
these steps will be most effective.

On this there is no room for disunity except that voiced by a minority in and out of Congress.

The Committee to Defend America and the Fight for Freedom Committee already have pledged support to Secretary of the Navy Knox's call for the employment of the American navy to clear the Atlantic of our foes, the nazis and their allies. These representative bodies unite in supporting both Secretary Knox and Secretary of War Stimson against the noisy clamor of those who for too long have obstructed preparedness and endangered the national safety. These organizations speak the true sentiments of an overwhelming majority of Americans.

And these two organizations now ask that Congress cease allowing itself to be wagged by the isolationists' tail. They ask that our national representative body begin this day to be representatives in the fullest sense. They ask for leadership at the Capitol end of Pennsylvania Avenue. They urge that Congress respond quickly to the urgent plea of General Marshall. They ask support for Secretary Knox. They ask this instead of obstruction and delay when time is so vital. They ask that none hamstring America.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM Inc.
1270 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

ULRIC BELL

Chairman Executive Committee

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA

by Aiding the Allies, Defeating the Axis
Powers and Developing Means of Future Peace

8 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y.

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
National Director and Acting Chairman

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Eyewitnesses

Compiled and Edited by
CLARE OGDEN DAVIS

Published by
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, INC.
1270 Sixth Avenue
New York City

Fight For Freedom, Inc.

1270 Sixth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

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C

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Vice Chairman

FRANCIS P. MILLER
Vice Chairman

ULRIC BELL
Chairman Executive Committee



Principles of Action of Fight For Freedom, New Orleans Branch adopted at a general meeting September 17, 1941.

Less than a year ago nearly 50,000,000 citizens of this nation declared, according to their choice, that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie are men qualified to lead this nation, at a time when the world is plainly on fire at its foundation. These two men - one officially entrusted with our welfare, and who has called to his side patriots to share his weighty burden; the other still a great leader by virtue of his courage and character - both have joined in urgent warning that real perils are in our front yard; that we owe all help to those who stand between us and these perils.

Overwhelmingly, Congress has taken swiftly vast measures of defense. Our industry has turned enormously to the unfamiliar field of armament. Our Military and Naval Commanders are concentrating their genius and their energies to be ready for the last argument between nations. Hundreds of thousands of our sturdy youth are in military training camps.

Only admitted dangers justified these unprecedented measures. After so much has been done, must we still fill the air with destructive contentions, within sound of guns deciding the fate of the world and our own? Shall history record that this great Democracy fell because it is in the nature of democracies that they cannot timely press on to vigorous and unflinching action?

To the President, to the Congress, to the Generals and the Admirals, and to all responsible leaders we answer: "Yours is the responsibility of unflinching leadership; yours to man the first lines of our defenses wherever American security demands; yours to hasten aid and comfort to those whose toil, blood, and suffering procure for us the time so precious to the safety of the nation."

"Doing this you may count on our steadfast support. With equal certainty you may count on our stern opposition to self-appointed leaders and promoters of dissension and inaction."



*Gilt
D. C. Sen. Truman. D.C.
Dec. 11, 1941*

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#7

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

POST CARD

Senator Tom Connally

Chairman Senate Foreign Relations Committee
SENATE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 16, 1941

WHO IS "AMERICA FIRST"?

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Dr. A. J. Carlson
William R. Castle
Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark
Irvin S. Cobb
Janet Ayer Fairbank
John T. Flynn
Bishop Wilbur E. Hammacker
General Thomas Hamaond
Jay C. Hornel
General Hugh S. Johnson
Clay Judson
Kathryn Lewis
Charles A. Lindbergh
Alice Roosevelt Longworth

Frank O. Lowden
Hanford MacNider
Mrs. John P. Marquand
Thomas H. McGarter
Ray McKaig
Sterling Morton
Kathleen Norris
Amos R. E. Pinchot
William H. Regnery
Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.
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Dr. George H. Whipple
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Miss Doris Fielding Reid
Prof. Edward Reischer
Archibald Roosevelt
Rev. Frederick K. Stamm
William S. Thomas
Alan Valentine
Ernest E. Wheeler
Dr. George H. Whipple

WHOSE BATTLE IS AMERICA FIRST FIGHTING?

A Short-Wave Broadcast from Berlin, January 22, 1941

"The America First Committee is known as true Americanism and true patriotism, as opposed to the synthetic brand displayed by the Americans enrolled under the Committee to Defend America."

The Free American and Deutsche Weckruf und Beobachter, May 1, 1941

"Join the America First Committee and continue to bombard your representatives in Congress with letters and telegrams in protest."

Social Justice, April 28, 1941

"Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh became a member of The America First Committee last week. It is the same Committee under whose auspices Burton K. Wheeler speaks. It is the same Committee under whose auspices Father Charles E. Coughlin would be speaking did he enjoy one-half as much liberty as a priest and as a citizen as that enjoyed by the Monsignor John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Council."

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Fight for Freedom

Some letters from you would indicate confusion over the relationship of the Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom in New York City. The two national groups are not merging. Three groups, Council for Democracy, Committee to Defend America and Fight for Freedom are meeting in weekly conference to bring about close cooperation which we feel will produce better results than any other policy.

In New York City, the city chapters of our Committee and of Fight for Freedom have combined forces and have their headquarters in our building.

Clark M. Eichelberger

ADDENDUM:

There is one important and truthful side to British war propaganda at home which is neglected in this article, but which was well stated by Winston Churchill in the following sentences: "What a frightful fate has overtaken Poland! Here was a community of nearly thirty-five millions of people with all the organization of a modern government and all the traditions of an ancient state, which in a few weeks was dashed out of civilized existence to become an incoherent multitude of tortured and starving men, women and children, ground beneath the heel of two rival forms of withering and blasting tyranny. Although the fate of Poland stares them in the face, there are thoughtless dilettanti or purblind worldlings who sometime ask us: 'What is it that Britain is fighting for?' To this I answer, 'If we left off fighting you would soon find out'",

---Herbert Agar, Member of Executive Committee,
Fight for Freedom, Editor, Louisville
Courier-Journal.

"They must be disarmed and kept disarmed, and they must abandon the philosophy and the teaching of that philosophy which has brought so much suffering to the world."—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT to United States Congress, 7th January, 1942.

411 X-D 7/32
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... WHAT IS IT ?

" FIGHT FOR FREEDOM "

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39 Berkeley Court, Baker Street, London, N.W.1

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to stay free . . .
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SEE Pageant of American Freedom
by • BEN HECHT and • CHARLES
McARTHUR. Original music by
• KURT WEIL. Under direction of
• BRET WARREN. Staged by
• SYRJALA. Cast of 100, chorus of
50 voices, orchestra of 30 pieces

HEAR SECRETARY FRANK KNOX •
JENNIE LEE • DOUGLAS FAIR-
BANKS • SERGEANT YORK

SEE BURGESS MEREDITH • GLADYS
SWARTHOUT • EDDIE DOWLING
• LARRY ADLER in a variety show

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, INC.
1721 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST

The freedom you take for granted, other people are now dying for. The Apostles of Appeasement want to barter away your freedom to the Nazis. They would divide us with false issues. Appeasers talk the same language everywhere—the language of bowing down to the Nazis. Appeasers talk about “invincible Germans,” about “Jewish warmongers,” about “doing business with Hitler.” This is the language of Goebbels, Quisling, Laval . . . and Nye, Wheeler, Lindbergh. Only through the defeat of Hitlerism can American freedom endure. Back every Government move against the Nazis!

NOV. 4, 8:00 P. M. ULINE ARENA

TICKETS: 50¢, 75¢, 1.00, 1.50, 2.00, 2.50, 3.00, 3.50, 4.00, 4.50, 5.00, 5.50, 6.00, 6.50, 7.00, 7.50, 8.00, 8.50, 9.00, 9.50, 10.00

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FIGHT

#13

FOR

FREEDOM

BROADCAST BY THE RT. HON. LORD VANSITTART

X-D 732
F 5to the U.S.A.
on August 1st, 1943.

I met Mussolini once or twice in the earlier thirties, and therefore knew him - not well of course, but as well as one usually knows foreign notorieties before forming some sort of judgment upon them.

In the earlier thirties Mussolini had one outstanding point about him - he was anti-German. He had the sense to man the Brenner against Germany in 1934, when German agents murdered Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor. I met him in that year, and again in 1935, when we were endeavouring to build security for Austria at Stresa. After that the decline set in, and the fall began. He abandoned his anti-Germanity, which externally had been his guiding principle for twenty years; and, having no other principles at all, he just ran amok, and made not only a brute of himself but an utter fool as well.

If Mussolini had confined himself to internal politics, he would have left a name that was only detestable. Betaking himself to the fields of foreign affairs, wherein his conceit was only equalled by his ignorance, he became that rare combination - a cynic and a fool. A card-sharper looks silly when spare aces are always slipping out of his sleeve. From being anti-German, Mussolini became a jackboot-licker, and finished up as a buffoon. I doubt whether he has the physical courage to commit suicide, but nothing now could make his end anything but ridiculous.

From the moment when Mussolini went over to the Huns and their methods, there was nothing but unmixed evil in him. All that Germany wanted for a Second World War was an Ally. Mr. Churchill said on Tuesday last that our main adversary was and is Germany. On that conception I based my policy throughout my tenure at the Foreign Office. Mussolini and his inefficient bandits overlooked two things, which any capable professional could have told them, and which I did try to tell them. Anyone who becomes a partner of the Germans inevitably becomes first a sleeping-partner, and then the office-boy. Look at Austria before Germany's first World War. The second thing overlooked was the fact that any country that lends itself to German aggression inevitably wrecks itself. Look at Hungary and Bulgaria. Their subservience to Germany brought them to disaster once, and will do so again. They seem incapable of learning. But Italy had been on the right side in the last war, and got as much out of it as she deserved. Fascism has dug its own grave.

But while Italy's collapse is a matter for rejoicing, the episode must not be treated as anything but a side-show. We have

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The Fifth Column in Congress
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Washington Merry-Go-Round

Congressman Day's Book Linked to Nazi Agents.

By **DREW PEARSON** and **ROBERT S. ALLEN**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 3.

Representative Stephen A. Day, Republican Congressman-at-large from Illinois, has just written a book which should be examined by every American citizen who wants to save the Congress of the United States.

The book is called "We Must Save the Republic." Its cover is in red, white and blue, and the book is done up with all sorts of patriotic trimmings.

What Congressman Day does not say, however, is that his book "We Must Save the Republic" was published by agents with Nazi connections.

The book's back cover page contains this appeal: "Dear American, this book was inspired by the overwhelming response the author received from the American people for his brilliant, challenging radio address exposing 'Union Now' on June 15, 1941—which date is, incidentally, the day on which European nations are supposed to pay installments on the war debts they owe the United States."

But what is omitted from the back cover is the fact that Congressman Day's speech attacking Britain on June 15 was mimeographed and sent out to newspapers from the office of the Columbia Press Service, which handles publicity for George Sylvester Viereck. Viereck, a nephew of the late Kaiser, draws \$1000 monthly as the agent of Nazi Germany.

Registered as Agents

The company publishing his book is Flanders Hall, of Scotch Plains, N. J., and anyone examining the records of the State Department will find that on April 9, 1941, Flanders Hall registered as a foreign agent, listing as its officers Sigfrid Hauck, president; Mary Hauck, vice president, and Adolf Hauck, secretary-treasurer.

Listed as the parties for whom the above worked are George Sylvester Viereck, who in turn is registered with the State Department as a Nazi agent, together with Dr. Giselher Wirsing, of Munich, who is also the agent of Verlag Knorr and Hirth, a Munich publishing house.

Flanders Hall, before it published Congressman Day's tome, published "The 100 Families that Rule the Empire," a vitriolic attack on the British written by the above-mentioned Giselher Wirsing.

Congressman Day's book also is devoted to attacking Great Britain. And although no mention is made of who published it, the book is touted as tearing "the masks from the sinister scheme to scrap your freedom and your heritage."

Note: When stump-speakers shout about the danger of dictatorship in the U. S. A. and how the powers of Congress are being limited, they forget that dictatorship in Germany did not come until after the German people lost confidence in the Reichstag. In this country the American people will retain confidence in Congress only as long as its members refrain from running under false colors.

This column exposing the activities of one of our Congressional isolationists appeared in over 725 newspapers. Additional copies may be obtained by writing to:

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, INC.

1270 SIXTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

#15
X-P 732
W. A. C. H.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter one of our young members has written in reply to a youth who wrote us that "America has no stake in the present war." We are passing it on to you because it seems to us a clearcut exposition of the way many of the young men who will be in the front lines feel about the present fight for freedom.

August 14, 1941

Ulric Bell.

Dear Mr. Bell:

Since I am one of those who, if fighting is necessary, will be called upon to fight, your letter has been turned over to me. It is such a sincere letter, so thoroughly honest in its outline of your belief that I can assure you that I have the highest respect for your opinions. However, I do not agree with them.

You see, we of Fight for Freedom, Inc. do not believe that the question facing America today is one of war or peace. If it were, we would all choose peace. We believe that it is only a question of when we will fight, and whether we will fight alone or with strong allies. We believe we will have to fight a war, not because of actions by President Roosevelt or anyone else in this country, but because of the bungling and dishonest appeasing forces who bred and encouraged nazism, some of whom now are calling on us to defeat it with our lives.

We believe that there can be no compromise with Hitler and that a peace that comes before the complete defeat of the Axis powers will only lengthen the war crisis, not only in our own country, but everywhere. Certainly, none of us here is fighting for the British Empire or for Soviet Russia. We hate the injustices of both as much as we hate the injustices in America, but we do not believe that a victory of nazism will give us a chance to alleviate injustice anywhere. We think, instead, that if Hitler wins, none of us in our lifetime will ever again have the chance to continue to work for progress, either socially, politically or economically and that all the advances of democratic civilization will be imperiled and perhaps lost forever. We fear that human beings again will be reduced to the condition of chattel slavery; for fascism plans just that.

We do not believe that the question of extending the draft is the simple one of whether boys like you and I will be held in the Army for a few months longer than a year. We believe that if Hitler wins we will be building an Army of millions for the rest of our

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THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM COMMITTEE

1.

The American people have recognized that the war abroad involves our destiny just as much as it involves the destiny of Britain, Greece, Jugoslavia, France, China and the other victims of totalitarian aggression. We have recognized that an Axis

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The Fight for Freedom

By the RT. REV. HENRY W. HOBSON

(Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio)

(Reprinted from The Daily Iowan, Iowa City, Iowa)

(It's hard to get away from the business of war these days. The conflicts abroad, or their effect upon us, have been so far-reaching that day in and day out our thinking is tinged in some way by mankind's current struggle.

(We present Bishop Henry W. Hobson's recent discussion of mankind's fight for freedom, because it expresses the idea of a growing share of the people. Bishop Hobson comes from southern Ohio, and is national chairman of Fight for Freedom, Inc.—The Editor.)

The fight for freedom has been going on since the dawn of history. It has taken many forms—mental, physical and spiritual—but the fundamental motive has ever been the same in every true fight for freedom. Since God made all men to be His free children the basic urge, whenever man has fought for freedom, has always been to achieve God's purpose for his life. It is, to quote Robert Sherwood, "man's unconquerable aspiration to dignity and freedom and purity in the sight of God."

Freedom is the foundation upon which any progress in the life of man must be built. Wherever and whenever man has sought to win those rights which enable him to achieve a fuller existence, there we find that he is building upon God's gift of freedom to every man. This is true in the spiritual realm where man has ever sought the right to worship in freedom. It is true in the intellectual realm where man has struggled for the right to think, to speak, to write and to listen in freedom.

It is true in the economic realm where man has contended for the right of equal opportunity; for the right to work or not to work; for the right to organize with his fellows; in freedom. It is true in the political realm where man has fought for the right to have his voice heard through a free ballot; and for the right to create a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; in freedom.

Wherever these basic rights are violated or withdrawn there we find an attack upon the very foundations upon which alone the abundant life of man can be built. It is an attack upon God's purpose for man—for when God refused to be a dictator He determined that man must grow by process, often painful, of winning and using

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

The attached letter, released by Colonel Arthur V. McDermott, of the New York Selective Service Administration, was written by "C.O.", a former conscience objector who has applied for reclassification to 1-A --the category subject to unlimited military service.

Anthony A. Bliss,
Chairman,
First-to-Fight Division
Fight for Freedom.

EDITOR TO DRAFT ASKS

A 1-A RATING

McDermott Says the Swift Tide of
Change in Status Necessary

ALL RETAINS SCRIPPIES

Sees Duty to Abide by
Decision of Majority--

Eight Objectors

Quit Camps

Eight of thirty-one conscientious objectors from this city have been released from the civilian-directed camps to which they were assigned by the Selective Service Administration because they were 28 years old before last July 1, it was announced yesterday by Colonel Arthur V. McDermott.

The men have been reclassified as 4-E-H, the Selective Service director for the city added, and have been placed in reserve status subject to recall to "nationally important work under civilian

#12
X-D
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FOR YOUR INFORMATION

#19

W W L

X-D 732

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Resolutions adopted at Continental Congress for Freedom, October 9-10, Washington, D. C.

CTIONS WERE PASSED AT THE FINAL SESSION OF
RESS FOR FREEDOM" HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES
DOM COMMITTEE AT THE WASHINGTON HOTEL,
TOBER 10th, 1941:

NOV 10 1941

RESOLUTION #1

ULRIC BELL

st armament is the idea that is America
en are created equal. This idea has
f all in our land, the goal of all in
lighted the way of mankind for more than
It is a moral force greater than any
army or armada. Brought to bear, it always has and always
will make tyrants blanch.

We assert that unflinching allegiance to this concept of freedom is our certain way of crushing the Nazi onslaught upon it. Allegiance to it means willingness to fight and die for it. There is no cut-rate choice between freedom and slavery, and we know by the grief we witness that half the world is already enslaved.

As delegates to the Continental Congress for Freedom, we pledge ourselves, our hearts, our lives to the preservation of the American idea, and pray that it will pervade the world.

We rededicate ourselves to the proposition that our democracy at home must ever be strengthened by practical devotion to its principles. We declare that this is a two-front struggle in which our example in the practice of democracy is as vital as our share in the actual conflict. We say that we cannot oppress our neighbor at home, impose unjust burdens upon the weak, seek material advantage in this emergency, allow politics to sway us, or permit religious or racial prejudice to divide us, without sharing part of the guilt for the plight of mankind. We will tolerate no touch of the fascist spirit in America.

We therefore call upon all our fellow citizens and upon the Congress from this moment forward to bear these high considerations ever in mind. We call especially upon our representatives in Congress to be representative in truth in both this sense and in the sense of showing courage in facing the awful facts of our time. We submit these considerations to our Commander-in-Chief and pledge to him our support in his leadership of the fight for freedom.

RESOLUTION #2

We ask for the immediate repeal of the Neutrality Act because it is helping Hitler to win this war. We have never urged action against Hitler by saying such action would keep us

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

X-D 732

The Implications of Hitlerism for Christians

E 5

By HENRY W. HOBSON

#20

Bishop of Southern Ohio and National Chairman, Fight for Freedom, Inc.

The Fight for Freedom has been going on since the dawn of history. It has taken many forms--mental, physical and spiritual--but the fundamental motive has ever been the same in every true fight for freedom. Since God made all men to be His free children the basic urge, whenever man has fought for freedom, has always been to achieve God's purpose for his life. It is, to quote Robert Sherwood, "man's unconquerable aspiration to dignity and freedom and purity in the sight of God."

Freedom is the foundation upon which any progress in the life of man must be built. Wherever and whenever man has sought to win those rights which enable him to achieve a fuller existence, there we find that he is building upon God's gift of freedom to every man. This is true in the spiritual realm where man has ever sought the right to worship in freedom. It is true in the intellectual realm where man has struggled for the right to think, to speak, to write and to listen in freedom. It is true in the economic realm where man has contended for the right of equal opportunity; for the right to work, or not to work; for the right to organize with his fellows; in freedom. It is true in the political realm where man has fought for the right to have his voice heard through a free ballot; and for the right to create a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"; in freedom. Wherever these basic rights are violated or withdrawn there we find an attack upon the very foundations upon which alone the abundant life of man can be built. It is an attack upon God's purpose for man--for when God refused to be a dictator He determined that man must grow by the process, often painful, of winning and using the freedom which alone would enable man to become a true child of God instead of a slave or a machine.

Through the centuries of Christian history sincere followers of Christ have differed in their opinions as to whether physical force should be used to resist evil. Those who accept the position that a Christian should not use physical force have, when they are logical and really true to their convictions, refused to use force against any attack upon them personally, upon their families, their associates, or their country. Those who hold that physical force must at times be used to resist evil, believe that when a situation arises in which force is the only weapon available to prevent the triumph of evil it is the Christian's duty to use force. They believe this is true whether the attack of evil is that of a single gangster upon an individual,

Fight For Freedom, Inc.

1270 Sixth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

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Vice Chairman

ULRIC BELL
Chairman Executive Committee



October 4, 1941

Dear Mr. McLeish:

Because America is faced with issues as grave as the issues which beset the first Continental Congress, Fight For Freedom, Inc. has called a new Continental Congress to meet in Washington, Thursday and Friday, October 9 and 10. Today the defense of our liberty is intimately concerned with the defeat of Nazism and it is not too much to say that the future of the United States as a democratic republic is at stake.

Answering our summons to a new Continental Congress will be delegates from every state in the Union. On Thursday evening, October 9, at 7:30 p.m., a dinner will be given in the Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel, at which such prominent leaders as Sergeant Alvin C. York, Mrs Dwight Morrow, Lewis Douglas, Douglas Miller, and others will speak.

We are inviting you to attend the Congress and participate in the discussions of the main issue placed before us by the inescapable pressure of events - the defeat of Hitler. Attending the new Continental Congress is one way in which you can personally and immediately participate in your country's defense.

If you wish to attend the dinner we shall be glad to make reservations for you if you will let us know on the enclosed blank how many tickets you want, or if you will notify us by telephone, Republic 7627. The price of the tickets is \$2.50 each. As the time is short and as many delegates have already made reservations, we suggest that you let us hear from you as soon as possible so that you may be sure of securing a reservation.

Sincerely yours,

David Cushman Coyle,

Chairman Washington Chapter

Mrs. Raymond Clapper, Vice Chairman
Michael Straight, Vice Chairman
Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Vice Chairman



WORLD WAR II IN THE WEST

historical methods - documentation - research - historiography

5-9 September 1950

Amsterdam, Netherlands

a conference under the auspices of the Netherlands State Institute for War-Documentation X-D734

September 1st, 1950

PROGRAMME

Final Version

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5TH

GENERAL SESSION (International Cultural Centre, Vondelpark)

- 20th min. Opening of the conference
Addresses will be made by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam
Mr. Arnold J. d'Ailly, and by the Chairman of the
Organising Committee, Prof. Jhr Dr. P.J. van Winter
- 20 p.m. Prof. ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, London: Contemporary History as
a scientific problem" (in English)
Chairman: Prof. Jhr Dr P.J. van Winter, Groningen
Interpreters: Miss Driessen, Miss Maneval
- 5 p.m. a group picture will be taken of the participants

RECEPTION (Municipal Museum, Paulus Potterstraat)

- 5.30 p.m. Reception of the participants of the conference by the
Burgomaster and Town councillors of Amsterdam.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6TH

COMMITTEE I: MILITARY HISTORY (International Cultural Centre, Vondelpark)

- 9.30 a.m. Prof. J.R.M. BUTLER, Cambridge: "Problems and development
of the British military histories of World War II" (in
English)
Chairman: Colonel C.P. Stacey, Ottawa
Interpreter: Miss de Vos van Steenwijk

SUB COMMITTEE I (a): ARMY HISTORY (International Cultural Centre)

- 10.30 a.m. Lt. Colonel ALLEN F. CLARK, London: "The programme of the
historical section of the American Army" (in English)
Chairman: Colonel J. Schjøtz, Oslo
Interpreter: Miss de Vos van Steenwijk

SUB COMMITTEE I (c): NAVAL HISTORY (International Cultural Centre)

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SECTION I: MILITARY HISTORY

Summary

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#23

REMARKS ON THE OFFICIAL BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD-WAR

by

Prof. J.R.M. BUTLER, London

1. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom decided during the war that official histories should be written of the British war effort on both the civil and the military sides. The civil histories were put under the charge of Professor W.K. Hancock, who is himself speaking about them. I am concerned only with the military histories - the word 'military' being used throughout this paper to cover naval and air operations as well as those of the army. Separate histories, with which I am not concerned, are being written of the diplomatic and medical aspects of the British conduct of the war.
2. All the series I have mentioned are under the direction of a 'Committee for the Official Histories'; the Chairman of this body, which meets only occasionally, is a member of the Government (at present the Home Secretary) and the other members represent the various Government departments concerned. The department charged with the administration of the histories is the Cabinet Office. There is also an Advisory Committee of eminent historians, which meets only when specially summoned.
3. The scope of the military histories was defined by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons in November 1946 as 'a broad survey from the inter-service point of view'. He explained that, where as in the case of the war of 1914-18 separate series of volumes had been published describing the war from the respective points of view of the navy, the army, the air force (as well as the mercantile marine), in the present case there would be a single series embracing all three services. One of the great lessons of the Second World War had been the necessity of planning and executing operations on a joint inter-Service basis, and it seemed illogical and unrealistic to publish three separate accounts of what had been a joint effort. Another lesson which had been learnt was that many years must be expected to elapse before the completion of a detailed history of a modern war, especially if the staff is small. It was therefore thought better to avoid minute detail and aim at producing merely a

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#24

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

(Sketch of a Project)

by

M.F. DEBYSER, Paris

The abundance and the diversity of bibliographic sources, their extreme dispersion, the enormous amount, increasing continually, of publications the consultation of which is necessary for the study of World War II, confront the historian with problems of documentation which he does not always find it easy to solve. It is up to the bibliographer, that modest auxiliary of the historian, to facilitate the latter's task, to save him time and trouble by drawing his attention as exactly, as completely as possible, to these publications, and to present them to him in a methodical order, and when desired, to make - with all the necessary critical prudence - a choice eliminating superfluous publications that are of no interest. In my opinion, the Documentation must also be a choice. When I say this, I am afraid to enter a dangerous road, and I know unrepenting bibliographers striving after the absolute for whom each bibliography has to be exhaustive and self-contained, and who consider it a lese-majesty of a bibliography to draw attention to only ninety out of a hundred volumes on a certain subject, even if those ten last volumes lacking all interest add nothing but their numbers to the first.

Do it as it may, I feel sure - after having been for several years in permanent contact with researchers and having been a researcher myself occasionally; - that the establishment of an International - and selective - Bibliography on the History of the IInd World War, in the form of some title indexes that are easy to handle, methodically presented and periodically kept up to date - an index that one can have on his working-desk - would render valuable services to the historian. As far as I know there does not exist such a bibliography up till now. Without doubt, there are the catalogues of our biggest libraries, but they are not always easily obtainable and cannot be compared with a book that can be placed on your desk and be consulted at any moment.

To start the realisation of such a bibliography - once the enormous amount of material to be exploited is known - means, there should be no mistake about that, that we should be engaging ourselves upon a long and extremely delicate enterprise the difficulties of which must not be ignored. It is said of the Genius that he is "of infinite patience", which proposition I personally have always thought rather dubious; but I use this formula in the right sense where documentary research is concerned and the enterprise of which I am speaking to you, is one of these - to

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SECTION I: MILITARY HISTORY Sub-Section Ia: Army History

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ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE NETHERLANDS

by

Major-General, D.A.van HILTEN, The Hague

I. The actions of the Netherlands military forces.

In the events in the Netherlands during World War II three periods can be distinguished:

1. The German surprise attack in May, 1940;
2. The German military occupation from May, 1940 to September, 1944;
3. The War on Netherlands territory from September, 1944, to 5th May, 1945.

ad 1. In this period the struggle took place between the Netherlands organized military forces and the German Eighteenth Army, reinforced by the 9th Panzer Division and supported by unprecedented air forces. The airborne attack of the II Luftlande Corps within the fortress of Holland was a great surprise, as it was the first time in military history that airborne troops, from among two divisions, were employed for an important strategic objective.

While in the centre and in the northern part of the country the Netherlands armed forces waged war against the German forces whose main mission it was to break the resistance of the main body of the Netherlands Army, in the southern part of the country Netherlands frontier and covering troops desperately fought the divisions of the German Sixth Army, which forced its way through the provinces of Limburg and Noord-Brabant to Belgium.

The struggle of the organized Netherlands army ended in its capitulation on the 15th of May, and that of the troops in the province of Zeeland on May 19. Only a little number of troops had managed to withdraw across the sea; almost the whole army had to lay down arms, and all the war material and arms were carried off to Germany as war-booty.

ad 2. To this period belongs the active and passive underground resistance. Initially of a spontaneous and unorganized nature, during the years of occupation it developed into a powerful resistance movement, which greatly injured the Germans materially and in particular morally.

This resistance movement is separately treated during this conference by Sub-Committee IV (a): The history of the resistance movement, and

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Sub-section Ic: Naval History

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THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DIVISION FOR NAVAL RECORDS EN HISTORY OF THE FRENCH NAVY

by

Commander HAMEL, Paris

1. Organisation.

- Section of Naval records and Libraries .
- Section for contemporary naval history, "Historical Section".
- Edition of the Naval Review.
- Naval Museum (pro memoria).

2. Activities during the inter-war period 1919-1939.

- Recuperation of files and records of World War I, 1914-1918.
- Results - Interruption of activities in 1930.

3. Activities during the war period 1939-1945.

- Dispersion of the Historical Section.
- Part played by the Research Section of the General Staff, by the Intelligence Service, and (since November 1942) by the Office of documentation of the Merchant Navy, as regard the war history.

4. Resumption of activities of the Historical Section in 1945:

- Files en records of World War I (1914-1918) have been handed over to the Section of Naval Records and Libraries.
- The Historical Section has been charged with research on the history of World War II (1938-1945)
- The Museum Service is apart from the Historical Section (pro memoria).

The Historical Section is carrying out a double task:

- Recuperation of the naval records of the war.
- Establishment of a factual account of the war.

5. Recuperation of the Naval records of the War:

- General state of these files and records; Destructions and
- Presentation of isolated documents for the administra-

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Sub-Section Ib: Air History

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THE USAF HISTORICAL PROGRAM

by

Dr ALBERT F. SIMPSON, Maxwell Air Force Base, USA

At the beginning of World War II there was no historical program in the United States Army Air Forces, nor had there been such a program - except briefly during World War I -, although the Army had used military aviation in the form of reconnaissance balloons as far back as 1861. What today is the United States Air Force Historical Division was established and its program initiated in 1942. The basis for the creation of the office was an order from President Roosevelt in March of that year which directed that each of the various war agencies prepare an administrative record of its wartime activities. In June, the Air Staff took the first step toward carrying out the order by providing for the appointment of an Army Air Forces Historian and by directing that he write the history of the Headquarters. In September, an AAF Historian was selected and a Historical Division was established in Headquarters, Army Air Forces under the Assistant Chief of Air Staff, Intelligence.

The first AAF Historian early made two important decisions. The first was not to write an administrative history, but to secure a large number of trained historians for service overseas and within the Zone of Interior, collect an archives, and prepare carefully documented "first narratives" dealing with all phases of air activity in all parts of the world. The other decision was to combine "history for history's sake" with pragmatic and utilitarian considerations. That would not only preserve the record; it would preserve it in such form and content that it would be of present and future value to the air forces in planning and in operations.

As soon as a handful of personnel had been obtained, the office was divided into three main branches: the Archives, charged with maintaining and servicing all documents which the office might acquire; the Combat Operational Branch, set up to prepare studies dealing with overseas operations and to supervise the work of historians who would be sent to the several theaters; and the Administrative Branch, which was responsible for monographs on activities in the continental United States and for supervising the work of historical sections in the Zone

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COMMITTEE IV: TERROR AND RESISTANCE

Sub-committee IVb: Concentration camps and deportations

Sommaire

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY JEWISH DOCUMENTATION IN PARIS (Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine de Paris)

by

M.L. POLIAKOFF, Paris

The partition of France in occupation "zones" during the last war led to some paradoxical consequences as far as the Jews were concerned. While they were mercilessly persecuted in the Northern occupied zone, and on nearly the same scale in the "free zone" of Vichy, the Jews were favoured by a systematic protection in the Italian occupation zone, containing the 9 departments East of the Rhine. Thus, they could live in that region in almost complete security during the ten months of the occupation which lasted from November 1942 till September 1943. In this temporary oasis in the heart of Europe where the hitlerian campaign of extermination followed its inexorable course, the idea was born of creating a centre for historical studies devoted to the most tragic period of Jewish history and probably of human history in general. The Centre for Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centre de documentation juive contemporaine) was founded in April 1943 at Grenoble: the initiative was taken by its present president, Mr. Isaac Schneersohn, who gathered a team of research-assistants and archivists. As soon as France was liberated, the Centre was transferred to Paris, where it has since continued its activities.

In the first place the Centre tried to build up a basic documentation. The accounts of witnesses who had outlived these tragic years and those of the survivors of the death-camps provided the Centre with its first material. Very soon, however, it was clear that the Nazi archives, whose great importance as a source for the history of the second world war is

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SECTION IV: TERROR AND RESISTANCE

Sub-section IVa: Concentration camps and Deportations



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THE SOCIOLOGY OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS

by

Prof. Theodore ABEL, New York

At present, interest in the United States in concentration camps is at a low ebb. Publications dealing with this subject have few purchasers. With few exceptions, to be discussed later, there is no research being done on concentration camp material. I will pass by the lack of public interest for it is readily understandable. People do not like to be reminded of horrors or to relive an unfortunate past. However, it is probably valid to say, incidentally, that this indifference is by no means an expression of callousness. I think that below the surface of their awareness, people are very uneasy about the phenomena of which concentration camps are the most vivid manifestation and try to avoid the anxiety which their recollection creates. Simply stated, this uneasiness is due to the uncomfortable thought of what human beings are capable of doing to each other and also to the fear that a repetition of a system that includes such institutions as concentration camps is not improbable.

With regard to the near absence of research in this field, the main reason seems to be the inadequacy of the material on concentration camps. Obviously, there is no lack of quantity of data. Large numbers of documents and hundreds of reports of concentration camp experiences are available, not to speak of recorded interviews with thousands of former concentration camp inmates. But the usability of the material for scientific inferences is another matter, and I should like briefly to comment on this point in connection with research interests in various social disciplines.

First, let us consider the historian. The historian is probably the most sensitive among the students of human events to public response as an incentive for the selection of his topics for research. In view of the indifference of the public, there does not seem to be any reason for the historian to augment the existing material on concentration camps, to fill in details or, in short, to accumulate more evidence and more documents with a view to eventually writing as complete and detailed a history of concentration camps as might be possible. But the historian is also handicapped by the fact that in some important questions no possibility of obtaining adequate material for his purposes seems to

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SECTION IV: TERROR AND RESISTANCE

Sub-Section IVb: Concentration camps and Deportations

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Summary

THE WORK OF THE WIENER LIBRARY

by

Dr. ALFRED WIENER, LONDON

I. History of the Wiener Library.

The Wiener Library was founded in Amsterdam at the beginning of 1934 with little more than a handful of books from which gradually, by sustained and consistent efforts, its present strength has been built up. Its original purpose was to study Nazi activities in Germany and provide interested quarters with reliable information of which they might otherwise have remained unaware; for at that time Germany was largely a sealed country. From the very start, the founders realised that National Socialism would inevitably develop into the principal danger not only to world peace but to the entire Western civilization.

In the course of the years, The Wiener Library collected about 40,000 books, half a million newspaper cuttings, over a thousand of photographs, an impressive number of original documents, and about five hundred sets of newspapers and periodicals, mostly from the European Continent. Because of the special significance which the Jewish problem, both in scope and in kind, possesses within the system of National Socialism, The Wiener Library includes a separate section devoted to Jewish matters.

While it is not possible here to describe in detail the activities of the Wiener Library during the Amsterdam phase, it may be mentioned that, in the last few years before World War II, it was able to supply printed and other material to certain Dutch authorities which, in the opinion of these authorities, was very valuable.

In 1939, the Institute was transferred to London. During the war, it could render important services to H.M. Government. Government departments with which it was in more or less constant contact included the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office, the Central Department and Research Department of the Foreign Office, the War Office, the Ministry of Home Security, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Economic Warfare, the Air Ministry, the Board of Education, the Ministry of Fuel and Power, and the British Broadcasting Corporation. The U.S. Government, numerous other Allied Governments then in Great Britain, later the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expedi-

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Summary

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRE OF STUDY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE POLISH JEWS

by

Mr MICHEL M. BORWICZ

The origin of the work of our "Centre of Study for the History of the Polish Jews" goes back to the time of the Nazi occupation of Poland and resides more precisely in the activity we carried on in that period. The work was begun at that time, as was the case with the greater part of the institutes of this kind. At that time too the methods were adopted and the aims envisaged. During those unprecedented years (when death scourged the country and human life had lost all value) we firmly determined to document not only the important events, but also the fortunes of the ordinary people; not only the extraordinary episodes, but also the developments of every day, phenomena of psychological and social order. For this reason we made an already considerable effort during that period to obtaining, collect and preserving (in our clandestine archives) as much evidence as possible of an individual and personal nature.

After the war we gave priority to this work in the framework of the activities carried out by the Jewish Historical Commission, in Poland. This commission had published 37 works (32 in Polish, 5 in Yiddish), the majority of which are based on sources of the sort mentioned.

The Study Centre for the History of Polish Jewry works at Paris, in the emigration, as a result of various factors. Some of them are of a political nature, others reside in the fact that the Centre maintains a permanent contact with direct witnesses and these - the majority of the Polish Jews, which have survived the Hitlerian occupation of Poland - live at present in various countries of the West. In general, in our time, all sorts of relations can be much easier maintained from Paris than from Warsaw.

The Study Centre for the History of Polish Jewry at Paris publishes a monthly periodical in Yiddish, entitled "Problèmes" (Problems), which

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COMMITTEE III: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

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Full Text

HISTORY OF THE ALLIED OCCUPATION OF GERMANY

by Prof. Dr HAROLD ZINK

Chief, Historical Division, Office of United States
High Commissioner for Germany

I. INTRODUCTION

In presenting a paper dealing with the history of the Allied occupation of Germany growing out of World War II it is difficult to know the exact interests of the listeners. One may certainly assume a serious interest in basic problems and a broad familiarity with general procedure in a group such as this, but how much interest or familiarity there may be in details is less clear. It is altogether probable that a number of you are very well informed as to what has been attempted in this field; others may have had comparatively little opportunity to become acquainted with the record. However, as I understand my assignment, it is to present an "introduction" and hence I shall seek to cover this very complicated aspect of World War II in the West briefly and in what may well seem to some of you to be a superficial manner. In the discussion which comes after it will be possible to fix the level as may seem desirable to you. I should note that my remarks will deal largely with the subject from the angle of the American experience, not because I desire to ignore what has been done by our colleagues in other countries but because I do not pretend to be competent to discuss their experience. Even in attempting to cover the entire American record I am probably exceeding the proprieties of cautious scholarship since the ramifications are such that it is improbable that a single person will be able to deal at all adequately with every phase. It is fair to tell you that I have been in a position to observe what has been done by my American colleagues since early 1944, though only during the period 1944-1945 and now in 1950 has my connection been an official one.

Before proceeding with my introduction to the subject, may I add a few words in regard to the significance of this phase of the history of World War II in the West. I may not be objective in my appraisal -- indeed it is perhaps too much to expect that one who has devoted so much of his time to the problems of the occupation of Germany could attain such perspective -- but nevertheless there seems little question that this particular aspect of World War II has been of outstanding importance from the standpoint of the historian as well as the soldier, public official, and layman. Many aspects of World War II represented new developments which are well worth serious study, but I pose the question whether there was

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SECTION I: MILITARY HISTORY
Sub-Section Ic: Naval History

Summary

ACTIVITY OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE ITALIAN NAVY

by

Naval Captain M.A. BRAGADIN, Rome

After having heard the reports of Captain Hamel and of prof. Milo, I can say that the position and the problems of the Historical Section of the Italian Navy are similar, in many respects, to that of the institutions they have spoken of.

The first problem, in importance and in time, we had to face, consisted - also for us - in gathering all the necessary documents and information. However, even though going through many vicissitudes, we lost only a small part of our documents and files, so that losses do not interfere noticeably with the historical work.

The second problem consisted and still consists of the classification of the documents for historical purposes and in gathering all the necessary information about decisions which were taken verbally, or about events lacking sufficient documentation.

The work of the Historical Section of the Italian Navy will probably be rather slow, as far it concerns the publication of reports, because the re-arming of our Navy has compelled to cut down funds and personnel as to those activities, as the historical one, which are not directly connected with the re-arming itself.

As a general plan we do not foresee to publish a complete and chronological history. This will probably be done later, in the frame of a larger historical publication edited by the General Staff of the Italian Armed Forces (a combined staff). We also plan to limit our work strictly to facts and technical subjects, fully documented, abstaining from polemical and critical questions interfering with external institutions.

Our publications will be divided into several sections covering different subjects or different periods of time. One section will cover the activity of the Italian Navy during the 39-months time of operations up to the Italian armistice; a second one will cover the activity of the 20-months time of operation after the armistice. The first section will be further subdivided in different publication covering:

- Mediterranean Sea operations;
- Atlantic and Indian Oceans operations of the Italian Submarines;
- E-boat, pocket-submarines and assault-craft operations in the Black Sea;
- E-boats operations in Lake Ladoga (Finland);
- operations of auxiliary-cruisers between the Far East and Bordeaux;

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Sub-Committee IV(a): History of the Resistance Movement

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RESEARCH ON ITALIAN RESISTANCE

by

Dr G.VACCARINO, Milan

Summary

- The National Institute for the History of the Liberation Movement in Italy
- The pioneers of the Resistance Movement
- The 45 days of Badoglio
- The first episodes of armed Resistance
- The Kingdom of the South
- The National Liberation Committee
- The Partisan War
- The Clergy and the Resistance
- The Resistance Movement and the Allies
- The Fascist Republic of Saló and its Reign of Terror
- Conclusion.

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Summary

INVESTIGATIONS AS TO THE MILITARY RESISTANCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

by

Lt. Colonel S.P. VAN 'T HOF

On the whole, the resistance against the German domination in the Netherlands was both passive and active. Important nuclei of the Dutch people carried out the active resistance. In some respects this obtained a military character.

As early as on May 15th 1940 the first resistance-group called the "Beggars" (Geuzen) arose. This first resistance-group aimed at reaching a form of carrying out the resistance in military units.

The development of the resistance was strongly influenced by the varying war events in various periods of the war.

The resistance-groups that carried out the military resistance at first acted on their own initiatives and in their own units. After three groups had been united and made into the "Forces of the Interior" (Eindlandse Strijdkrachten) in the autumn of 1944 a cooperation developed between the Commandants of the Forces of the Interior and the allied commanders.

The purely military actions consisted chiefly in: surprise attacks, sabotage, espionage and information services.

The small undertaking on a small scale with one's own comrades repeatedly occurred in the Netherlands resistance and owing to the Dutchman's psychological disposition the quickly developing small undertaking had a certain attraction for him.

The German could not understand the mentality of the Dutch people, to him it remained full of mysteries and surprises.

By their active work the resistance-groups have injured the enemy's morale to a greater extent than was originally estimated.

There has never been any doubt among the resistance-groups as to their right to carry out resistance.

There were several circumstances and symptoms which as it were

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CIVIL RESISTANCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

Documentation - Research - Literature

by

Mr. L. DE JONG

Executive Director of the Netherlands
State Institute for War Documentation

Introduction

The fact that I am standing in front of you to-day in order to give you a picture of the Netherlands civil resistance as regards existing documentation, research carried out or being carried out, and books published or still to be published, needs, I think, some explanation and perhaps a word of excuse.

I should like to state at the outset that I have not personally taken part in the Netherlands resistance movement. During the war I was in London, working as a member of the staff of the Netherlands Government broadcast "Radio Oranje" being encouraged day after day by the manifold expressions of the Netherlands resistance movement and trying at the same time to stimulate this movement as best I could, but without taking an active part in it.

Secondly I have not carried out any research work of my own as far as the history of the Netherlands resistance movement is concerned. As an executive director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation I have helped in devising some plans for such research which have been carried out by members of the staff of the State Institute. At the same time I have tried to follow the work done in the same field by other institutions and other people. For this reason I cannot claim that I have had a direct or an important part in the work which I will try to describe. Mostly this work has been performed by other people to whose pertinacity and ingenuity I should like to pay tribute.

Background of the Netherlands resistance movement

You all know by now that this conference is one which is not so much dealing with historical subjects as with methods of documentation, research and historiography. All the same the Dutchmen present here,

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Section Ic: Naval History

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Summary

HISTORICAL RESEARCH OF SOME WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ABOUT THE NAVAL WAR IN WORLD WAR II

by

Prof. Dr T.H. MILO, Leyden

It is not easy to give an account of the various researches in the different countries of western Europe, for the methods in inventarisation and classification of the documents, the aims of the admiralities and governments or even the historians and authors are varied. Much work however is done and more will be done, but it is fundamentally necessary for all allied nations to become acquainted with each others work, before it can be done successfully. Therefore it will be my task this morning to speak about some allied countries which played their part in World War II or had an interest in it.

Norway gave a good example in starting researchwork at an early date. When the Norwegian Navy left for Britain in June 1940 the commander in chief, rear-admiral H.E. Diese, ordered captain R. Scheen, an officer of his staff, to remain in Norway where he should assemble as much material as possible about the naval war against the Germans. Captain Scheen did excellent work till 1943 when he and some 600 other officers were transported as prisoners of war to Poland. Nothing daunted by this mishap he interrogated hundreds of officers in the various camps about their exploits, continuing till the liberation. The result was an admirable work in two volumes, which gives not only an accurate and impartial account of the Norwegian naval campaign, but also some insight in the strategical and political background. 1) The Norwegian naval staff is now planning to continue this work for the part the Norwegian Navy played in the battle of the Atlantic.

Sweden as a neutral country is more interested in an overall story of the naval war without too many combat details (the war in the Baltic excepted) and the strategical lessons thereof. Captain M. Starck, teacher at the Naval Staff College at Stockholm is the author of a work in two volumes, covering the whole naval war for the greater part compiled from American and British sources, but very interesting for the Baltic campaigns. 2)

From Danish side I was unable to get particulars about plans and methods.

In Belgium Mr. P. Sarceriaux is busy with a documentation on the

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COMMITTEE II: POLITICAL RESEARCH

Summary

THE RESEARCH PROGRAMME OF CHATHAM HOUSE

by

Prof. Arnold J. TOYNBEE, London

The founders of the Royal Institute of International Affairs set themselves three tasks: to provide a meeting place for discussions on international affairs, a reference library, and to assemble and publish the facts of contemporary history, otherwise available only in the press, parliamentary debates, official documents, etc.

The first project was the History of the Peace Conference of Paris, a joint British and American enterprise published by the British body. This was succeeded by the annual volumes of the Survey of International Affairs by Professor Arnold Toynbee, and in 1928 a companion volume of Documents on International Affairs was started. The British Year Book of International Law, founded by Sir Cecil Hurst in 1920, was affiliated to the Institute from the beginning, and since 1944 has been one of the Institute's regular publications.

The Institute's periodical, International Affairs, now quarterly, was first published in 1922; the monthly World Today and two-monthly Chronology of International Events and Documents have succeeded the fortnightly Bulletin of International News, first started by Mr John Wheeler-Bennett in 1929 and issued by the Institute from 1930.

The establishment of these publications occupied the Institute during its first ten years. In the writing of the Survey of International Affairs, however, a number of subjects emerged involving detailed research which could not appropriately be dealt with in the Survey record. From this source developed the first programme of long-term individual studies undertaken by the Institute. Concurrently a programme of studies by groups of specialists was drawn up. The principal object of these studies was to assemble for the information of the public the essential facts and prevailing points of view on current problems.

In 1932 a grant was received from the Rockefeller Foundation which made it possible for Chatham House to set the above programme of research on foot.

From this date the research programme of the Institute falls roughly into three periods: 1932-39, 1940-44, 1945-50.

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SECTION II: POLITICAL HISTORY

Summary

THE PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS OF THE GERMAN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

by

Prof. M. Baumont, Paris

My eminent colleague, Prof. Bernadotte Schmitt, should have liked in principle, in accordance with the wish formulated by the Organizing Committee for the Conference on the History of the second World War to accept to speak here on the problems connected with the edition of documents of the German Foreign Ministry. He regrets sincerely that he could not follow his intention to go to Paris for the International Congress on historical sciences, nor to Amsterdam for this conference.

On the request of the Organizing Committee which thought the problems of the archives of the Wilhelmstrasse very important, I feel happy to be able to tell you about this subject as I myself have been cooperating at this task in my quality of French editor - in - chief.

Consequently, I shall consider successively with you:

1. under which circumstances the documents of the German Foreign Office went to the allied governments;
2. the decisions taken by those governments to publish these documents;
3. according to which methods the texts were chosen for publication;
4. finally how the publication was accomplished up till now and will, as it seems, be continued.

I could thus precise and complete what has been indicated on this subject by the general introduction of the two volumes of documents of the Wilhelmstrasse, published in English in Washington and in London and of the volume published in German and French.

I.

As the air bombardments on Berlin became worse and worse, it had seemed necessary to protect the archives of the German Foreign Ministry. Since 1943, they were for the greater part dispersed over regions that seemed safer: viz. in the surroundings of Berlin and in the Harz. Gradually, the main part of the services of the ministry arrived in regions that were less exposed than the capital: especially in the Riesengebirge, the neighbourhood of the Lake of Constance, etc.; they were followed by the files.

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SECTION III: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Summary

REMARKS ON THE OFFICIAL UNITED KINGDOM CIVIL HISTORIES OF THE SECOND WORLD-WAR

by

Professor W.K. HANCOCK, London

The Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom decided during the war that official histories should be written of the British war effort on both the civil and the military sides. The civil histories were put together under my charge at the end of 1941 and a small staff was very slowly built up. Some years later, Professor R.J.M. Butler was invited to take charge of the military histories, about which he will be speaking. Professor E.L. Woodward is writing a history of the diplomatic aspects of the British conduct of the war. There is also a specialist political history which may run to a good many volumes.

All the series I have mentioned are under the direction of a "Committee for the Official Histories"; the Chairman of this body, which meets only occasionally, is a member of the Government (at present the Home Secretary) and the other members represent the various Government departments concerned. The department charged with the administration of the histories is the Cabinet Office. There is also an Advisory Committee of eminent historians, which meets only when specially summoned.

The United Kingdom Civil Histories, which will run to approximately thirty volumes, deal primarily with the economic, social and administrative aspects of the British war effort. The largest history, that of war production, is in the charge of Professor H.A. Postan and will include about eight volumes additional to the one that he himself is writing. There will also be histories, in one volume or more, of civilian industry and commerce, finance, manpower, shipping, land transport, building, fuel and power, agriculture, economic warfare, civil defence and the wartime social services.

The series is introduced by four volumes of a "synoptic" character, two of which have already been published - "British War Economy" by W.K. Hancock and M. Gowing, and "Problems of Social Policy" by W.K. Hancock. A Statistical Digest of the War will

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COMMITTEE III: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Summary

PLAN FOR AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF OCCUPIED EUROPE

by

Prof. F. BAUDHUIN, Louvain

Naturally, the aim of this exposition is not to make a rough draught of such a history. The subject is so extensive that such a rough draught will probably require a uniting of forces of specialists and, in any case, international cooperation. The only object of these notes has therefore been to draw up a first working-scheme, that might comprise what, in the author's opinion, is the field of the researches accomplished.

It would undoubtedly be desirable to choose one or several cooperators for each country, asking them to compose their chapters within a systematic framework. This would lead to more clarity in the work, would render it possible to make comparisons and bring about the final synthesis.

A. PARTS AFFECTING EACH COUNTRY.

I. DEMOGRAPHY.

1. The demographic account of each country: losses in armies, losses of civilians, losses by depredation and through the persecution of the Jews.

2. The indirect losses: the decrease in births, the increase in the rate of mortality by natural causes.

3. The migrations: the forced emigration, the summonings of travellers, the displacements of populations.

4. What has become the average of life or the mathematical hope of life.

N.B. 1° The bureaux of the U.N.O. have already made such researches, from which one would have to start, if necessary asking for these bureaux' cooperation.

2° The National Institute for Demographic Studies in Paris has at its disposal a team of specialists, whose cooperation would have to be requested. It has published numerous useful studies in its excellent review "Population".

3° The case of the U.R.S.S. would have to be studied separately. It has already been the object of descriptions the authors of which might be asked to lend them for use.

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THE GERMANS AND THE HAGUE CONVENTION CONCERNING THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF WAR ON LAND

by

Dr M.W. MOUTON, The Hague

Throughout the history of warfare, be it between tribes, towns or nations, all over the World there have been certain rules concerning practices and methods of war.

Often the motives which gave rise to these rules were of a practical nature. Either the warriors were afraid of the spirits of the dead, or they felt limited in the methods of warfare in view of the need to reestablish peaceful relations with the enemy after the war was over.

Another motive which influenced the methods of fighting was a certain amount of chivalry and eventually under the influence of the Great Religions, humanitarian motives stimulated the development of usages and later of customs of war.

In different centres of civilisation the development of these rules of warfare can be seen. One finds rules in the Bible, very advanced rules in India (e.g. in the Ordinances of Manu) and in the Greek and Roman civilisation as well as in the Mohammedan Countries.

The rules concern methods of warfare, the prohibition of poisoning wells (in the Islam rules), or use of poisoned weapons (Manu and Islam), they often prohibited mutilation of the dead, killing of women, old people, children and monks.

In old civilisations these rules developed to a rather amazing level, but I believe that the strongest impulse to the development has come from the Christian religion.

The Church Fathers of the Middle Ages St. August and St. Thomas of Aquino, had an enormous influence on the development of the rules of war. Later the Spanish School of Salamanca, Victoria and Suarez and the Protestant Gentili:

Gentili e.g., wrote about the existing rule that a person who had violated the rules of war, could not invoke the protection of these rules. We can follow this rule by later authors like Grotius and Moser and it has been the State practice up till now.

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THE SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF FRENCH PUBLIC
OPINION FROM THE ARMISTICE TO THE LIBERATION (1940-44)

by

Mr. MARCEL BAUDOT, Paris

Neither the volumes of memoirs and the reports written during the occupation, over which censorship was exercised, nor the press of the two zones, strictly subservient to the instructions from the occupation authorities or the information services of Vichy, can constitute reliable sources for a history of French public opinion from June 1940 to the Liberation. It will be possible to have recourse to a fairly large number of publications containing memoirs and chronicles edited since 1945, but it is especially the public record offices that will provide the most valuable documentation.

At the National Record Office the monthly reports have been preserved from the Prefects as well as the reports from the regional Prefects and the reports containing monthly summaries - reports from the Prefects of the occupied zone and from those of the non-occupied one, the reports from the general inspectors for food-supply, the reports from liaison-officers with the German control services in the non-occupied zone, the notes summarizing extracts of tap phone calls, the entire correspondence addressed to Marshall Pétain and his private Secretariat, the notes relating to the state of public opinion addressed to the B.C.R.A. (Central Bureau of Information) in London or in Algiers by the agents from the network of the Resistance and after January 1944 by the Chiefs of the 5th Bureau of the Staffs of the French Forces of the Interior, the dossiers of the general management of the Staffel propaganda-section in France at Paris; collections of newspapers and clandestine pamphlets will be found either with the Commission for the History of the Occupation and the Liberation or at the Library for the History of the War.

The Record offices of departments constituting headquarters of local Prefects (NORD, AISNE, SEINE, SEINE & MARNE, SEINE & OISE, COTE D'OR, MEURTHE & MOSELLE, DOUBS, RHONE, BOUCHES DU RHONE, HERAULT, HAUTE GARONNE, GIRONDE, HAUTE VIENNE, PUY DE DOME, VIENNE, ILE & VILAINE, MAINE & LOIRE, LOIRET & SEINE INFÉRIEURE) will be able to supply a valuable collection of information by means of the weekly reports from

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COMMITTEE IV: TERROR AND RESISTANCE

Sub-Committee IVa: History of the Resistance Movement

Summary

RESEARCH IN FRANCE

by

Mr. G. Bourgin, Paris

It was so to speak on the very day of the liberation of Paris that the Historical Commission of the Occupation and the Liberation came into being; first in the form of a private Commission for the study of the history of the liberation of Paris, constituted by M. Bourgin assisted by a woman-librarian, and a bibliographer aided by an officer of the Historical Section of the Army (Captain Sereau), backed by the Press and particularly by the Parisien libéré.

The venture, which was very soon in the possession of instantaneously composed narratives and documents collected somehow or other (collaborators' newspapers; Majestic; Propaganda-Staffel), got the authorities of the IVth Republic interested, and assumed an official character, for the study of the whole of France and concentrating on the period 1940-1945.

The Director of the Archives de France appointed by the Resistance undertook to stimulate among his collaborators in the departments the collection of source material, and the designation of his predecessor M.P. Caron as president of the said Commission indicated the eminently scientific level on which the Commission was going to operate.

It was to work in conjunction with another subsequently created organism, the Committee for the History of the War with a staff recruited on appreciably analogous or identical lines which was subordinated to the Presidency of the Council, whilst the initial Commission continues to be dependent on the National Education Board. Both of them are still in close touch with the French Archives Board and the ministerial departments, or with organisms dependent on the Ministries, in order to insure as far as possible the conservation and filing of all useful documents.

Not all these documents have been collected or are even known, far from it: Many documents are inaccessible, in England, in the United States, in certain territories of the French Union. Many have been immediately destroyed by the Germans in flight, by popular violence

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GENERAL SESSION

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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AS A SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM

by

Prof. dr ARN. J. TOYNBEE, London

1. This is not a new problem: Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Josephus, Procopius; the Florentines and Venetians; Clarendon, Burnet: all these wrote contemporary history.

2. It is not essentially different from the problem of Ancient History
N.B. I speak here from personal experience, as I started by teaching Greek and Roman history, and went from there, via the Contemporary Near and Middle East, to the writing of contemporary international history.

3. The problem of bias:

(a) It is never possible for historians to be without passion or prejudice; these are excited by Ikhmaton as well as by Hitler.

(b) It is possible for a historian to become aware of at least some of his own prejudices and, as far as he is able to see what his cards are, to put these on the table frankly, in order to give his reader a chance of discounting his bias.

N.B. As one's passions and prejudices about current events are usually stronger than they are about the more remote past, it ought to be easier to be on one's guard against them in Contemporary History than in Ancient History.

(c) A useful trick of the contemporary historian's trade is to find some *πρὸς ὅσον* in his mental world from which he can observe his social milieu with something of the detachment of an outsider.

E.g., I try to look at the strange spectacle of the contemporary Western World with the astonished eyes of a Herodotus, Thucydides, Augustine, Ibn Khaldun, Al-Gabarti.

Personally, I find the contemporary world a fascinating object of study, but I feel more at home in either the Christian World or the pagan Greek World than in our present post-Christian World.

When I have to deal with controversies between Great Britain and the other Western states, I try to imagine myself to be a Swiss or a Swede.

When I have to deal with ideological and religious issues - which of course cut deeper than others, and raise our feelings to a correspondingly high temperature - I try to see with the eyes of

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U.S. ARMY HISTORY PROGRAM

by

Lt. Colonel ALLEN F. CLARK, London

The United States Army, unlike the armies of other nations, has never prepared and published an official history of its operations in any war. Traditionally, the Regular Army has always been reduced to an absolute minimum as soon as a war was over and, as a result, the financial support and the necessary personnel to prepare such a history have never been available. Early in this last war, President Roosevelt directed the Army, along with other governmental agencies, to take such steps as were necessary to prepare a comprehensive and reliable history of its performance in the war. For the coordination and direction of this effort a new staff agency was established. That agency is now known as the Office of the Chief of Military History of the Special Staff of the Department of the Army.

While the war was going on every effort was made to insure the preparation of adequate reports and the preservation of records. Generally, this involved the assignment of a small historical staff to each field army, responsible for the supervision of the preparation of historical records. Where circumstances permitted, these historians made independent notes on the operations of their units to supplement the official record. The personnel assigned to these units were usually civilian historians from the universities of the United States who were temporarily on active service. Some writing was done at the time, covering selected operations. These studies were published under the general title of The American Forces in Action series, fourteen of which were printed and are on sale to the public. They have been very popular. The greatest value of these publications was to the historical office of the Army itself, as an indication of the problems involved in adapting historians with civilian background to military historical writing.

Once the war was over the problem of the preparation of a final history was carefully examined. Various possibilities were considered ranging from a summary history of about ten volumes to publication of selected records which conceivably could have totalled even thousands of volumes. To satisfy the needs of the general public, a summary treatment in a non-scholastic style might have been a better solution. However, the needs of the Army were such that a summary history, necessarily on a

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THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FRENCH ARMY AND ITS ARCHIVES ON THE LAST "WORLD WAR"

by

Lieutenant-Colonel R. TRUTAT, of Paris

In his Mémoires the duc de Saint-Simon attributes the foundation of the French War Record Office to Louvois. But these Archives are older than that, because traces of their existence are found at the time when Michel Le Tellier the father of Louvois takes up his duties as Secretary of State for War. Finally a letter of Richelieu brings the date of their foundation with certainty back to 1637.

It is the year that Descartes publishes his Discours de la Méthode, and, however distinct their domains may be, the Minister and the philosopher seem to have been engrossed at the time in analogous preoccupations. "I pray Monsieur des Noyers", Cardinal de Richelieu writes in fact to the Secretary of State for War "to have copies made for me by his clerks of all the instructions, orders and despatches he has sent off this year which might serve as memorials for history..." And Descartes on his part declares by way of introduction to his work: "I should like to show in this Discourse what course I have followed and to present my life in it as in a painting in order that everybody may judge for himself..." For that matter one may say that for three centuries Descartes has provided all modern history with the most essential part of his teaching, viz. his Method, with its critical doctrine and the rigorous integrity of his investigations; this gave rise to the vast movement of erudition that inspired the intellectual world and without which no historical science whatever would have existed.

Thus the Historical Section of the French Army believes to have found in this great mind the foundations of its work. But in opening this exp sé in this manner we mean to point out that it is in this country, and even in this town that Descartes came to taste what he himself called "the fruits of peace", which were as rare in his time as in ours.

As for Richelieu, in founding the first archives he created a patrimony of a novel kind that his successors were to increase and to turn to account.

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THE HISTORICAL PROGRAMS OF THE CANADIAN ARMY

by

Colonel C.P. STAGAT, O.B.E., Ottawa

Any individual who is so unwise as to take it upon himself to write contemporary history is faced with many difficulties and pitfalls. That homely American philosopher Mr. Docley once gave advice to historians which was very sound. If I remember aright he said something like this: "If ye must write history, be sure to write the history iv remote peeriods; ye will be much less liable to interruptions from thim that were there." Unfortunately it is not always possible to act upon this excellent counsel. If we are to have histories of the great crises of our own times available to enlighten the public and assist our contemporary military commanders and statesmen, some writers have got to attempt the task. This meeting here in Amsterdam is primarily, I suppose, a conference of the rash and wilful men who have taken it on; men who, rushing in where angels fear to tread, have dared the slings and arrows of outraged participants who consider that their own or their friends' contributions have been misrepresented or unfairly omitted, and of inspired commentators who consider that the function of history is to provide support for their own particular theories of warfare.

The writing of official contemporary history presents special difficulties. The very word "official" has connotations which many people seem to find repulsive. I recently heard a Canadian radio commentator observe with apparent surprise that a piece of "official" history which had come into his hands could be read almost with pleasure. (I am sorry to say that the book in question was not mine.) The same reviewer went on to recall that he had once read an "official" history of an expedition which included a complete account of the equipment issued to each soldier who took part in it, concluding with the item "one toothbrush". That toothbrush, he evidently considered, was sufficient to damn that particular book for all time.

It is clear that the first questions which the prospective author of one of these generally despised official productions has to ask himself are, For what purpose is the book written? To what audience is it to be addressed? If he can answer these questions clearly, he has the basis of a plan for his work.

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COMMITTEE I: MILITARY HISTORY
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COMMUNICATION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FRENCH AIR FORCES

by

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DE SAINT PEREUSE, Paris

The Historical Section of the Air Forces is at present installed at Versailles. Its origin is comparatively recent. In fact, when the Air Ministry was created in 1928 there was not yet a separate Historical Section of the Air. All the archives concerning aviation were preserved by the Historical Section of the Army which at the time was housed at the Ecole Militaire.

In 1930 in the bosom of the Historical Section of the Land Army the aeronautical section was created consisting of a number of officers detached from the Air Forces. This aeronautical section, very few in number, up to 1934 had the task to make a start in compiling a stock of archives comprising:

- a. campaign and operation journals of the formations of the Air Service, i.e. of the squadrons, groups, wings and airforce companies of the 1914-1918 war.
- b. the Archives of the Former Board of Aeronautics at the Ministry of War.

The work of filing proceeded as these documents came in. However, the Air Department felt the need of having at its disposal an organism charged with historical studies, belonging in its own right to the Air Force and working for the benefit of civil and military aviation.

Thus in 1934 there was created the Service of Historical and Geographical Studies of the Air Department, whose mission was:

- to devote itself to historical research proper;
- to lay the foundations of an air geography
- to organize the Air Museum.

Owing to financial difficulties this service had only a limited activity and in 1939 a new direction was given to the Service of Historical

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SECTION I: MILITARY HISTORY
Sub-Section Ic: Naval History

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Summary

HISTORICAL COVERAGE OF THE NAVAL PHASES OF WORLD WAR II IN THE UNITED STATES

by

REAR ADMIRAL JOHN B. HEFFERNAN, Washington

The most important and most extensive naval historical project under way in the United States is a History of U.S. Naval Operations World War by Samuel Eliot Morison (Captain, USNR).

Morison is the Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History at Harvard University, and now the President of the American Historical Association. He was commissioned in the U.S. Naval Reserve in May 1942, for the purpose of writing this history. He went to sea in various types of ships and personally participated in many naval engagements and campaigns. He or his assistants visited every theatre of the naval war for the purpose of gathering material and interviewing participants. He was in uniform until September 1946, when he resumed teaching. Since that date he has continued to work on the naval history as time permits, and he has a small staff of assistants. In April 1950, with his Japanese speaking assistant, he visited Tokyo and interviewed many Japanese naval officers.

In a forward to his series, the Secretary of the Navy endorsed Morison's History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II, but made it clear that the author, not the Navy, is responsible for the work, and that it is not to be regarded as an official history.

Capt. Morison is the author of Admiral of the Ocean Sea, for which he was awarded the Pulitzer Price for biography in 1943. He is the author of a number of other works including the Maritime History of Massachusetts, Portuguese Voyages to America, Three Centuries of Harvard, Builders of the Bay Colony and the Growth of the American Republic.

The History of U.S. Naval Operations in World War II is being published by Little Brown & Company, Boston. To date, five volumes have been published and a sixth should appear in November, 1950. The titles and dates of publication, as presently planned, are given below.

I The Battle of the Atlantic, 1939-1943. Published November 1947
(Sept. 1939-May 1943)

With an introduction by Commodore Dudley W. Knox, USN (Ret.), on the

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Full Text

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UNITED STATES NAVAL AVIATION

by

Dr HENRY M. DATER, Washington

World War II saw the application of aircraft to naval warfare on a large scale. As events unfolded, the United States Navy faced problems of a kind that it had never before experienced and whose existence it only dimly suspected. Battles, which changed the balance of sea power, were fought without surface forces sighting one another, much less using their guns. Admiral Doenitz testified that the radar equipped airplane more than any other factor brought about the defeat of his U-boats. Under cover of aircraft launched from the sea, amphibious operations doubled or trebled in effectiveness. The revolution in the techniques of naval warfare can be determined by comparing doctrine in 1939 with that in 1944. At the earlier date, carriers were to accompany battleships to protect them against air attack, to provide scouting services, and, on occasion, it was hoped, to slow down an enemy by plugging him with bomb or torpedo so that the slower capital ships might catch up and finish him off. By 1944, the latest and most up-to-date battleships were being used to protect carriers from aircraft attack. The roles had been reversed, yet no one in his right mind would deny the usefulness of gunned ships and escort vessels. A judicious combination of air and surface elements gave the United States Navy the most powerful striking forces the world had ever seen.

These forces grew logically from the philosophy of organization and operations espoused by the Navy throughout its history. Succinctly expressed, the concept has its foundation in the mission to be performed. Once that mission has been determined, the United States Navy believes that it should develop and possess equipment necessary to its fulfillment. In some cases, the equipment has been taken over from Army and Air Force and devoted to naval purposes. This has occasionally led to misunderstanding and to some bickering, in which the Navy has insisted that the nature of the equipment was irrelevant, its use determining.

Because units of the naval organization have had weapons suitable for land and air warfare, they have frequently come to the help of other Services. There is perhaps no more bizarre page in American military history than the naval operations on inland waters during the Civil War, nor more glorious than the attack on the Japanese fleet at Midway.

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COMITE IV: TERREUR ET RESISTANCE

Sous-comité IV (b): Histoire des Mouvements de Résistance



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Texte intégral

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RECHERCHES SUR LA RESISTANCE BELGE
1940-1945
EFFECTUEES EN BELGIQUE AU COURS DES ANNEES
1945 à 1950

par

le Lt.-Colonel de Reserve honoraire LEJEUNE

La résistance belge s'est spontanément développée en territoire occupé. On la fait généralement partir du 11 novembre 1940, mais dès le 28 juin, la "Nation Belge", journal emboché, (1) rapportait la condamnation par un conseil de guerre tenu à Bruxelles, le 20 mai (Bruxelles avait été occupé le 16), d'un nommé Englebert Salu, né à Steenockerzeel et flamand d'origine, pour avoir accompli un acte de sabotage sur le réseau des communications téléphoniques. Le même journal du 4 juillet (2) publiait en première page en caractères spéciaux un avis officiel "à propos des saboteurs de lignes téléphoniques". Cet avis émanait du commandant militaire de la Belgique et du nord de la France. De son côté, le 3 octobre, le général commandant en chef de la province de Liège, prenait une ordonnance que la "Nation (so-disant) Belge" du 10 (3) reproduisait sous le titre "Exploits de saboteurs" qualifiant ces "quelques" derniers de "lâches et odieux imbéciles". Le 11 octobre encore, l'occupant feignait d'attribuer ces "exploits" aux officiers et soldats anglais restés dans le Nord et en Belgique en vue d'y organiser le sabotage et le mécontentement. Comme en de précédentes occasions, il était rappelé que la délation était un devoir en pays protégé. (4) Mais si le 21 juillet (Fête Nationale belge) s'était déroulé dans un calme relatif - les esprits se trouvaient encore sous l'effet du triple choc: capitulation hollandaise du 14 mai, capitulation belge du 28 mai et armistice français du 25 juin - il n'en fut pas de même le 11 novembre (Commemoration de la défaite allemande de 1918). Les "Voix de Londres avaient été entendues et surtout, il y avait eu la bataille d'Angleterre, premier coup direct porté à l'orgueil allemand. Ce jour-là, Raoul Vandenbulcke, un jeune officier évadé en juin d'un rassemblement de prisonniers de guerre, qui avait lancé en juillet un clandestin bilingue intitulé la Libre Nation Belge-Oms Vrij-Vaderland, se fit entendre, parmi d'autres manifestants, au pied de la statue de Gabriëlle Petit, le symbole même de la Résistance Belge, traité comme tel - on devine de quelle manière - il fut rapidement jugé et condamné, dix jours plus tard, à 15 années pour propagande anti-allemande et 2 années pour résistance à la police allemande, le tout ramené, par mesure de clémence (?) à 15 ans de travaux forcés dont l'intéressé fit le tiers outre-Rhin. Il en est revenu, mais avec

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COMMITTEE II: POLITICAL HISTORY

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Summary

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THE VALUE OF MEMOIRS IN THE WRITING OF THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

by

Miss ELIZABETH WISKEMANN, London

Memoirs I take to be first-hand accounts of any kind of event or circumstance.

Somewhere in his Métier d'un historien Marc Bloch divides historians into those who are like the doctors who prefer to dissect dead bodies and those who prefer to study the living. If I deserve the name of historian at all I belong to the second category; history is as much a study of feelings as of actions to me. Memoirs, therefore, seem to me of primary importance.

Their value is of course tempered by a number of limitations. Nobody's memory is mechanically perfect. Even the official recorder of a political conversation may make some slip, but he is not likely to make many, and this gives their particular value to many official documents. On the other hand an Ambassador writing a despatch may be as inaccurate as a writer of a memoir. (Often the despatch is published later in memoir form). A diary, on the other hand, may be at least as reliable as a collection of official Minutes.

I am unfortunately not competent to express any judgment in relation to the French memoirs concerning the last war as I have only dipped into them unsystematically, whereas I have tried to cover the German and Italian material, and also, as it happens, a good deal relating to the history of Eastern Europe during this period. But let me refer immediately to Ciano's Diaries and Minutes which provide some of the most precious material we have at all for working upon the history of the last War in the West. His Minutes comprise a selection of Italian State Papers but suffer from the fact that they were touched up or toned down in order not to give offence either to the Duce, or to Italy's Allies to whom they were likely to be shown. His Diaries, which mostly take the Minutes for granted, have the unusual value of not having been tampered with once the daily entries had been made. Ciano's arrest and execution prevented him from touching up these entries; the introduction he manages to write in prison at Verona already contains inaccuracy and indicates to what extent he might have "written up" his own original material. Professor Toscano, the Italian Foreign Office archivist told me some time ago that the French edition of the 1939-43 Diary was actually the most

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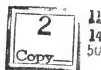
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THE NUREMBERG TRIALS AND HISTORICAL SCIENCES

by

Dr John H.E. FRIED, New York

The topic is easily divided into three parts: I shall first give a few data on the Nueremberg trial; I shall then say a few words about the law applied in Nueremberg; and shall thereafter submit to you some suggestions on the significance of the Nueremberg judgements for the social sciences.

As you will remember, the trial of war criminals has been several times announced as a war aim of the United Nations, during the war itself. One of the first steps was taken by representatives of nine European countries, including the Netherlands, who announced in the "St. James declaration" of 13 January 1942, that these nine powers "place among their principal war aims, the punishment through the channel of organised justice, of those guilty of or responsible for crimes committed by Germans in connection with the war. Of the various subsequent declarations, I only mention the "Moscow declaration" made by Roosevelt, Churchill and Staline on 1 November 1943. The Moscow declaration contains the following rules for the punishment of German war criminals.

- a. Those whose acts have been committed in a particular country, were to be tried in and by that country; but
- b. those "whose offences have no particular geographical localisation" would "be punished by the joint decision of the governments of the Allies".

This joint decision was to be made in order to avoid what lawyers call "jurisdictional dispute" - that is, controversies between several countries concerning the right to punish the same person who has committed crimes in all of those countries. If, for example, the Netherlands claimed that Fritz Sauckel was to be tried before a Netherlands tribunal because he had deported hundreds of thousands of Netherlands civilians to slave labour, the same claim could also be made by, say, Poland or France and other countries, because Sauckel had deported their countrymen too. It was for this reason that the Moscow declaration of 1 December 1943 provided for a joint decision on such cases.

As you will also remember, the "joint decision" was finally made in the Four Power agreement signed in London on August 8, 1945. It was under this agreement and the charter attached to it that the international military tribunal convened in Nueremberg and tried Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Jodl, Bormann, Kaltenbrunner, Streicher,

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Sub-committee IVb: Concentration Camps and Deportations

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FRENCH RESEARCH ON THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

by

Mlle G. TILLION, Paris

Before discussing exclusively French research into this question I must mention pro memoria the participation of France in the international research work.

France took part in the great international Nuremberg Trials and possesses microfilms of a large part of the unpublished documents collected of these trials. These micro-films have been deposited with the National Archives.

At the moment France has a liaison officer at Arolsen, the seat of the S.I.R. (Service International des Recherches) and has contributed to this Service a considerable part of its documentation.

As for the exclusively French documentation it can at the moment be divided into three large sections:

1. Inquiries made without any historical end in view, but undertaken for immediate practical purposes.
2. Private publications.
3. Systematic historical researches.

I. Inquiries made for immediate practical purposes.

These were undertaken by the Civil Registration Office of the Ministry of Ex-Servicemen; by the War Crimes Service; and finally by the Counter Spionage Services (formerly called the B.C.R.A.).

1. Civil Registration

The Ministry of Ex-Servicemen gives the figure of 220.000 as the total number of French citizens deported, of whom 38.000 were alive in April 1945 and 182.000 dead or missing at that date.

For these 182.000 dead 45.000 death-certificates and 26.000 certificates of the disappearance of these people have been drawn up, that is to say that for more than half of them nobody knows yet what

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AMERICAN JEWISH RESEARCH AND LITERATURE ON THE JEWISH CATASTROPHE OF THE YEARS 1939-1945

by

Dr PHILIP FRIEDMAN, New York

Part One: The Problems and Subjects of the Research on the Jewish Catastrophe

The problems involved in recording the history of the Jewish people in World War II are quite different from the problems in the over-all history of that war. For a general history of the war the most important subjects are: the strategic and military chronicle of the war, the economic warfare, the activities of the governments-in-exile and of the collaborationist puppet governments in the occupied countries, the diplomatic activities by and large, the resistance and underground movements and their military exploits. Of rather secondary level are: the German terror and persecution of the civilian population, the forced labor, the compulsory emigrations in wartime, the reactions of the civilian population, the concentration camps and atrocities and similar factors. As an American Jewish scholar pointed out as early as 1942, for the allied countries the principal goal was that of the democratic victory, but for European Jewry there was an additional substantial problem of major magnitude -- that of survival.

Historical research on the Jewish question has, therefore, a different gamut of topics, subjects and emphases. Most relevant are: the sufferings of the (Jewish) civilian population and, until the final catastrophe of extermination, the struggle for life. Involved in such an investigation are problems quite distinct from the general pattern. These particularly Jewish problems are: the ghetto, the special anti-Jewish legislation, the anti-Semitic propaganda and acts, the specific socio-economic and religious developments within Jewish society, group inter-relations and environmental elements in the Jewish tragedy, and the like. To obtain a more adequate concept of the most outstanding subjects of research into the Jewish catastrophe, let us outline them in a brief survey.

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GENERAL SESSION

Summary

NATIONAL-SOCIALISM AND GERMAN CULTURE

by

Prof. E. Vermeil, of Paris

In inviting me to discuss a vast and complex subject live that of the relation between the phenomenon of Hitlerism and the principal aspects of previous German culture this Congress has marked out for me a difficult task which is a great honour to me, but which on my part calls for an effort of concentration and synthesis which I would discharge to the satisfaction of my audience. Consequently I shall ask of it some indulgence, certain as I am, on the other hand, of its kind and sustained attention.

1. In his Memoirs (Abrechnung mit Hitler), Herr Hjalmar Schacht asserts in conclusion that there has never been such a thing as a specifically Hitlerian ideology in Germany. Everywhere people are talking indiscriminately about race, the Leader and about Dictatorship, he says. Now that is, according to a very common French expression, "noyer le poisson" (drown the fish, obscure the issue), and to leave completely out of account whatever was particular, original and authentically German in National-Socialism.

One should, on the contrary, ask oneself whether the Hitler doctrine did not take up again in its own manner and with some novel nuances more brutal, vulgar and popular or demagogic, the themes that German thought had dealt with, especially in the XIXth century. One can see Germany proceed from phase to phase to heights, aspirations and a public mentality which explain as if in anticipation the astounding historical phenomenon, so disconcerting to our Western habits of mind, that was the Hitler regime. I know the Germans dislike what has caused them to be discriminated against, and that in all things they claim perfect equality of treatment. But this is no reason to turn up one's nose at the particular conditions under which their culture developed, took shape and asserted itself until it produced that unforeseen result the 12 years of the Hitler regime. Of course one must not go too far back into the past, even though from the time of the Lutheran Reformation up to the period of the French Revolution more and more numerous and increasingly precise symptoms appear on the other side of the Rhine announcing what the Germany of the XIXth and XXth centuries is going to be.

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SECTION II: POLITICAL HISTORY

Summary

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE HOOVER LIBRARY AND INSTITUTE ON WAR,
REVOLUTION AND PEACE AS FAR AS WORLD WAR II IS CONCERNED.

by

Dr. FRITZ T. EPSTEIN, Palo-Alto, USA

The foundation of the Hoover Library's program of collecting for World War II has been laid by Prof. H. Lutz, then Chairman of the directorate of the Hoover Library who spent the summer of 1939 in Germany engaged in the task of enlarging the Library's collection in the European field. After the outbreak of the war, Dr. Lutz made arrangements for the collection of materials on the diplomatic crisis and the beginning of the war. He received assistance by institutions and individuals who had assisted the Library in the development of its World War I collection. Due to transportation difficulties, the bulk of the materials on World War II collected in European countries for the Hoover Library could be shipped to California only after the end of the War.

During the war years the Library acquired a large amount of materials dealing with the war effort in the United States and the Allied countries, to mention only papers issued by the various branches of the Armed Forces; publications of municipal and state bodies relating to national defense; records of the United States War Relocation Authority and publications issued in the various Japanese assembly and relocation centers; files of foreign language newspapers covering various phases of public opinion among immigrant groups in America; finally the publications of the Civilian Public Service Camps dealing with the activities of conscientious objectors in the United States.

When the war spread to the Pacific and the Middle East, the Hoover Library expended the scope of its collecting beyond its previous emphasis upon Europe. A program of acquisition for the countries of South Eastern Asia and of the Far East was evolved. The Library has built up especially very extensive collections for the history of the "War of Resistance". These materials consist of substantial newspaper files from Japanese-occupied China, Free (Nationalist) China and Communist China; of official gazettes of central and regional governments; etc. The Library possesses very complete sets of the materials published by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, namely proceedings (transcripts of the Court) and "Exhibits" (evidence introduced by both, the prosecution and the defense). The Hoover Library has exhibits accepted by the Court and a number of exhibits rejected by the Court. The testimony in the Tribunal touched on all phases of the War.

The Library has an excellent Polish underground collection for the years 1936 - 1945

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9 septembre 1950

RESOLUTION I, PROPOSEE PAR LA COMMISSION AD HOC

Les participants à la Conférence sur la deuxième guerre mondiale, réunis en Assemblée générale, le samedi 9 septembre 1950, sont d'avis que les exposés, présentés lors de cette Conférence, sont d'une très grande valeur scientifique;

D'autre part, ils n'entrevoient pas de moyen permettant la publication des comptes rendus;

ils se permettent de conseiller expressément aux auteurs de ces exposés, de publier leur contributions individuellement;

Conscients de l'intérêt qu'aurait, pour la science historique, l'envoi de nombre requis de textes ronéographiés aux bibliothèques et institutions les plus importants du monde, et afin d'y aboutir, ils font appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Education, les Sciences et la Culture pour que cet organisme mette à la disposition du Comité organisateur néerlandais de la Conférence sur la deuxième guerre mondiale à l'Occident, les fonds nécessaires.

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50 Amsterdam, Sept. 8th, 1950

MESSAGE FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO ALL PARTICIPANTS

As has been announced in the programme, the conference will be closed in a meeting which will be held in the International Cultural Centre, Vondelpark, and which will start to-morrow (Saturday) morning at 10 a.m.

During this meeting details will be announced on the conclusions reached by a committee ad hoc which will meet to-night (Friday) under the chairmanship of Prof. Van Winter (Netherlands) in order to discuss the possibilities of international cooperation in the field of World War II history.

Prof. Van Winter will also deliver a closing address.

The Organizing Committee would appreciate if all participants of the nce would be present at this last meeting.

L. de JONG
Executive Secretary

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Sept. 9th. 1950

RESOLUTION I, PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE AD HOC

The participants of the conference World War II in the West, meeting in general session on Saturday September the 9th, 1950, are of opinion that the papers presented at the conference have been of great scientific value;

they agree, however, that no feasible method of publishing the collected proceedings is apparent;

they should like to suggest strongly to the authors that they should publish their contributions as individuals;

they feel that it would be in the interest of historical science if the required number of reneographed texts would be made available to the leading libraries and historical institutes of the world, and in order to make that possible they appeal to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to put the required sum of money at the disposal of the Netherlands Organizing Committee of the Conference World War II in the West.

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September 9th, 1950

RESOLUTION II, PROPOSED BY THE COMMITTEE AD HOC

The participants of the conference World War II in the West, meeting in general session on Saturday September 9th, 1950, are of opinion that it is in the interest of the scientific study of World War II to set up an international committee on World War II history;

they appeal to the leading institutes in the field of contemporary history in general and World War II history in particular to take part in and to support the work of such a committee;

they appeal to the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam, to carry out all preparations necessary for the setting up of such a committee;

they are of opinion that the committee having been constituted should discuss all subjects appropriate to the promotion of the study of World War II history; these subjects include specifically the convening of a second conference on World War II history, the publication of a bibliography on World War II history, and the publication of a bulletin on World War II history in order to continue the pooling of factual information which has been promoted by the conference World War II in the West.

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Amsterdam, September 8th, 1950

To:

Australia: Mr Wilmet
Belgium: Mr Hospel
Mr Willequet
Canada: Col. Stacey
Major Hunter
Denmark: Mr Henningsen
France: Mr Bourgin
Mr Michel
Mr Debyser
India: Dr Mehta
Italy: Dr Vaccarino
Norway: Col. Schiøtz
Switzerland: Mr Bauer
United Kingdom: Mr Slingsby
Dr Wiener
Miss Wiskemann
Mr Yates Smith
United States: Mr Abel
Mr Born
Col. Clark
Mr Epstein
Mr Fried
Mr Humphrey
Mr Lee
Netherlands: Mr Van Winter
Gen. Van Hiltten
Mr De Jong

Our meeting to-night has been fixed for 8 p.m. and will be held in the International Cultural Centre, Vondelpark. Prof. van Winter (Netherlands) will be in the chair. The following agenda is proposed:

1. Opening
2. Publication of the proceedings of this conference
3. Second conference on World-War II history
4. The Bibliography on World War II history
5. Publication of a bulletin on World War II history
6. Organization of an international committee on World War II

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SECTION IV: TERROR AND RESISTANCE

Sub-Section IVb: Concentration Camps and Deportations

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RESEARCH IN ISRAEL

by

Dr I.L. SEELIGMAN, Jerusalem

The Government of Israel has asked me to take part in this conference there is deep interest in Israel, in everything that concerns the Second World War, the persecution of the Jew in particular. The Minister of Education has asked me to tell you how tremendously important the Government and the population find the fact that the truth about that which happened during the Second World War is being investigated, established and published. The Government is especially desirous that there shall be no doubt about this.

As for research in Israel, this makes, I fear, an extremely modest impression after all we have heard about this work in America, England and in France, to mention only these. The urge to think back on a past that was dear and was lost gave rise to the publication of a number of works in Hebrew, which perhaps deserve to be mentioned here. Among other publications there is a series under the title "Metropolises of Israel" describing the large Jewish centres in Central and Eastern Europe, which have now disappeared; a history of its fall as well documented as possible, in each case forming the final chapter. Thus far four volumes have appeared. Some official and statistical data have gone into a couple of books on the downfall of Polish Jewry. Of course there are plenty of books of memoirs by people who passed the war in Chettees and deportation camps. In addition the origins and experiences of the Jewish Brigade were described in detail in a bulky volume by its Army Rabbi.

However, these contributions all bear the character of reflection and individual, and subjective reminiscences. It is of far-reaching importance that as far back as 1943 a Society was founded called *Yad va Shem* (Name and Memorial) which made it its object not only to honour and to preserve the memory of European Jewry, but also objectively to describe the history of its downfall, on the basis of a documentation that was to be as accurate and as complete as possible. There are plans to found a national scientific institute where the flame of remembrance will never

HOW NEUTRAL IS SWEDEN?

by SIGNE TOKSVIG

1

SURE I know we're neutral," an Irishman said. "What I want to know is, who're we neutral against?"

No Swede would have to ask that question. His convictions would tell him the answer; and whether they did or not, his press, radio, religious and educational leaders, even his government from its rope over the abyss, have all directly or indirectly told him that Sweden is neutral on the right side. This is not always understood in the United States. Some people express doubts as to where Sweden stands.

The Axis press has no doubts. Recent quotes from Germany about the Swedes call them "vultures of neutrality, tired gourmands, and shopkeeper souls," while the Italians speak of them as "selfish anti-Europeans."

The trouble lies in the word "neutrality." Even if a country is neutral "on the right side," its position requires a lot of explaining before belligerents can sympathize with it, as the United States found out in the period before Pearl Harbor. The Swedes are very bad at explaining themselves. The Danes don't mind alluding to their good qualities; the Norwegians are able to define their stern virtues; but ask a Swede where he stands and he is likely to turn as stiff as the wooden horses carved in Dalecarlia. At most he'll mutter that Sweden will fight for its freedom against all comers. The puzzling Swedish mixture of slow obstinacy and hot temper

takes the outward form of laconic pride. The Swedes think one ought to know that people with their love of democratic liberty could not possibly be "pro-German."

Their attitude is also due in part to provincialism. The Swedes are only six and a half million people in a country the size of California. They forget that the world does not always remember, or even know, how few they are. If it did, it might have a better understanding of Sweden's conduct in this war.

Look at recent Swedish history and the country's "concessions" with these facts in mind. During the Finno-Russian War of 1939-1940 the anti-Nazi world, hypnotized by the fact that Sweden is a sovereign nation with all the organs and paraphernalia of independence, urged Sweden to take on both Germany (eighty million people) and Russia (a hundred and ninety million people). Both Norway and Sweden were then vituperatively blamed for refusing passage to Allied troops on a highly problematic expedition. Had these troops been able to land and to receive supplies, the result would have been the same as it was later in less remote Norway: Sweden would have been overrun by the Nazis, who were eager for the chance. What Sweden did do for Finland was to strip itself of so much food, clothes, and war matériel that its action, as the *New York Times* said, "ought to be written in letters of gold. . . . It would be equivalent to a gift of more than twenty-five hundred million dollars from the people of the United States."